

## Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NSC-07 ISO-00 PM-07 SS-20 DODE-00

AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-10 IO-14 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04

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OSD:LMICHAEL

JCS:DSTEDHAM

S/S: SRGAMMON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA

ALL NATO CAPITALS

USMNR SHAPE BRUSSELS

USCINCEUR VAIHAIHGEN GERMANY

S E C R E T STATE 138114

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS. PARM

SUBJECT: UK FORMULA ON PARTICIPATION IN MBFR PHASE II

REFS: (A) NATO 3368 (B) STATE 133934

(C) MBFR VIENNA 96, 102, 103 (D) STATE 110820

(E) NATO 3557

1. WASHINGTON AGENCIES HAVE REVIEWED UK FORMULATION  
FOR EXPRESSING ALLIED INTENT REGARDING PARTICIPATION IN  
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PHASE II (REF A), AS WELL AS AD HOC GROUP'S TACTICAL

CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH IN THEIR MESSAGE TO THE NAC OF JUNE 21 (MBFR VIENNA 103). WE BELIEVE IT USEFUL THAT AHG BE GIVEN SOME TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY IN THIS MATTER. WE WOULD HOPE THAT AHG WILL RECEIVE EARLY INSTRUCTIONS FROM NAC PERMITTING THEM TO SIGNAL TO THE EAST THE WILLINGNESS OF ALL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO BE INCLUDED IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS ON CONDITION OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT. THE AHG WOULD THEN USE THOSE INSTRUCTIONS AT THE TIME IT FELT BEST SUITED TO OUR PURPOSE OF INDUCING THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT A PHASE I LIMITED TO US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS.

2. FOR THAT PURPOSE, WE FIND ENTIRELY SATISFACTORS FORMULA CONTAINED PARA 10 OF MBFR VIENNA'S 102: "THE ALLIES WOULD, IN THE CONTEXT OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT, BE WILLING TO CONSIDER A COMMITMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE THE PRACTICAL EFFECT THAT THE WESTERN CONTRIBUTION IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS TO AN OVERALL AGREED COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCES OF EACH SIDE WOULD INCLUDE REDUCTIONS IN THE FORCES OF ALL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS."

3. WHAT WE WISH TO AVOID IN DISCUSSION OF THIS POSSIBLE ASSURANCE IS GIVING THE EAST ANY CONCEIVABLE BASIS FOR LATER CLAIMS THAT THE ALLIES HAVE AGREED TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT PHASE II WILL CONSIST ONLY OF EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS AND THAT NO SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN MBFR PHASE II IS REQUIRED.

4. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT USMISSION NATO SHOULD SEEK TO ENSURE THAT NATO DISCUSSIONS OF THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE REMAIN FOCUSED ON THE ORIGINAL PURPOSE OF ASSURANCES ON PHASE II PARTICIPATION: A) TO GIVE THE EAST AS MUCH CONFIDENCE AS POSSIBLE THAT REDUCTIONS BY ALL NON-US ALLIES, INCLUDING FRG, WILL TAKE PLACE IN PHASE II WITHOUT PROVIDING A PRETEXT FOR THE EXCLUSION OF SOVIET FORCES IN PHASE II AND B) TO OBTAIN IN RETURN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO A FIRST PHASE RESTRICTED TO US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS.

5. MISSION IS AUTHORIZED TO DRAW UPON THIS MESSAGE AND ON MBFR VIENNA REFTELS, AS APPROPRIATE, FOR PRIVATE  
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CONSULTATION WITH UK AND, AS NECESSARY, FRG AND BELGIAN REPS, WITH OBJECTIVE OF CONVINCING THEM THAT PROPER TACTICAL COURSE FOR SPC IS TO AUTHORIZE AHG TO USE FORMULATION ALONG LINES PARAGRAPH 2 ABOVE. IF NECESSARY IN ORDER TO OBTAIN UK AGREEMENT TO THIS URGENTLY NEEDED FORMULATION, YOU COULD SUGGEST THAT NATO ALSO DEVELOP AN INTERNAL UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT SHOULD BE COVERED IN THE EXACT FORMULATION OF THE PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENT,

BEFORE ALLIES ADVANCE TO THE EAST ANY DETAILS BEYOND  
THOSE IN PARA 2 ABOVE.

6. FOLLOWING SOUNDINGS AUTHORIZED ABOVE, WE WOULD  
APPRECIATE MISSION'S RECOMMENDATION RE NEED FOR SUPPORTING  
DEMARCHES IN BONN, BRUSSELS, AND LONDON. SISCO

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